

FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY.

Senator Vest's Able Review of the Great Issues Now Before the Nation.

The Policy Advocated by President Cleveland Sure to Sweep the Country.

Harrison's Administration the Property of the Grand Army and the Protected Manufacturers.

It is not possible to anticipate the contingencies which may confront any political party in the country with so large an area as ours, where new interests and consequently new antagonisms are constantly being developed, and where suffrage, often lashed to fury by prejudice and passion, or corrupted in many parts by money or patronage, determines the issue, says Senator Vest in the North American Review. An accident not contemplated, a crisis unprovided for, may, of course, wreck for a time the fortunes of any party, but we are not necessarily left to conjecture as to the ultimate effect of such misfortune. Political parties have great distinctive characteristics, which run through the web and woof of their organization, as in races, communities and individuals; and before forming an intelligent opinion as to their reasonable hopes for future success, their history and antecedents must be carefully analyzed. To assume that party management and the clamor of campaign warfare have made or unmade political parties in this country, is to overlook the fact that, as a people, whatever may have been the differences of opinion on public questions, we have by heredity or education, a deep, overruling love of liberty—not of liberty in the abstract, posing as a goddess before the maddened populace of Paris, but that real, substantial liberty, which gives to every citizen governmental protection and imposes upon him a just share of the taxation necessary to support the Government.

A careful analysis of our history will show that underneath the current of political events, disturbed as it has often been by sectional and economic antagonisms, this gulf stream of love by the people for personal and public liberty has at last swept party organizations to success or defeat.

Mr. Vest then reviews the early history of the two parties led by Hamilton and Jefferson, and contends that no other conclusion can be reached by the impartial mind than that the democratic party succeeded in destroying its great rival, and in holding the government nearly forty years, because the American people believed it to be the friend of equal rights and the foe of all laws which create a partnership between the government and certain classes, by which enormous profits are secured to the latter at the expense of other citizens. This was the evil denounced by Andrew Jackson in his message vetoing the bill establishing the United States bank, and it is the monstrous evil which confronts us now in the existing tariff system advocated by the party in power. The same issues confront us to-day. Free trade is not an issue; whatever may be the opinion of individuals, for no political party advocates it. When Mr. Cleveland honestly and bravely said to congress that there should be a reduction of import duties, such as would relieve the taxpayer without injuring the protected interests, and pointed out how this could be done, he was assailed as a free trader in order to alarm the manufacturers and obtain the campaign fund necessary to purchase the floating vote in "blocks of five." This was a "good-enough Morgan" until after the election, and served the purpose of filling Senator Quay's contribution box and putting Mr. Wainwright in the cabinet; but the leaders of the republican party knew the charge to be false.

What we hope to place squarely before the people of the United States is the real question at issue—"Whether import duties shall be imposed for protection without regard to necessary revenue, or only such amount of duties as may be required to pay the expenses of government, so adjusted as to relieve from taxation the necessities of life and at the same time encourage American manufactures." This question was not determined by the last presidential election. Mr. Cleveland was defeated by the enormous expenditure of money extorted from the fears of the protected classes and by the untiring efforts of the Grand Army of the Republic, whose enmity he had aroused by his brave and patriotic opposition to the wholesale system of pension robbery of which the late Commissioner Tanner has been so able an exponent. In the manufacturing states of New Jersey and Connecticut the democrats were successful, while in the great military states of the northwest, which had furnished the soldiers who conquered the south, but where there were few manufacturing establishments, they were defeated. In their steady and unswerving adherence to the course marked out in the tariff message of Mr. Cleveland is the great hope of the democracy. "One swallow does not make a summer," and one repulse does not make a disaster permanent. The truths announced in that message will prevail, and to falter in their defense is to invite defeat.

If fresh arguments are needed to prove that the position of the republican party is untenable, and that its success can only be purchased, they are found in the present condition of Harrison's administration. It is absolutely the property of the protected manufacturers and the Grand Army of the Republic as if the title papers had been delivered and put to record. During the last canvass the people were promised that the import duties imposed by the present war tariff would be reduced by the republican party as soon as they gained power. They now have the president and both houses of congress, and we are told since the election that the surplus is to be reduced by additional pensions, the Blair bill, appropriations for a navy and coast defenses, with the removal of the internal revenue taxes on tobacco and alcohol used in the arts, and if any allusion is made to the tariff, it is to remove the duty upon import duties will be on the basis of the senate bill which passed that body during the last congress. By this measure the duties were retained on salt and lumber, and increased on the fine cloth fabrics made in New England and on woolen goods and hardware.

The republicans can not reduce the tariff. Their chief reliance for the funds necessary to carry the elections is upon the protected manufacturers, and the system is so dovetailed and dependent that to attack it in any part loosens and destroys the whole fabric. It is a vast "combine," embracing in its giant grasp the whole country and bound together by greed. Its advocates claim that the laboring man is the principal recipient of its blessings, and when during the last session of congress it was proposed in the senate to remove the duty upon bituminous coal, eloquent orations were delivered, describing the happy homes of the coal miners in Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois, for whose benefit this duty was imposed. Not a republican senator failed to vote against the motion, and the tax was retained. It is to be hoped that the defenders of this tax have read, since the adjournment of congress, the stories of famine which have come from the coal mining districts, where desperate men and starving women, with hollow-eyed children,

have waited in vain for the promised blessings of protection.

But there is another shadow on the republican feast that will "not" down. The Grand Army has thrown its iron glove into the arena, and boldly proclaims that, unless the present enormous pension list is increased from time to time, the men who saved the country "will know the reason why." There is something humiliating in the spectacle of the American president and his cabinet cowering before this Pretorian guard and industriously hunting ways and means to retain its favor. When the abuses of Tanner's administration of the pension office became so flagrant as to be no longer endurable, the ex-grand commander of the grand army was solicited to accept the office of commissioner so as to placate the veterans, whose indignant murmuring over the removal of Tanner was borne to Washington; but the ex-grand commander, who at the last grand encampment had counseled his comrades to demand a service pension for every man who had served in the federal army, and assured them it would be granted, knew too well the temper and power of the body over which he had presided, and declined the proffered honor. We read of something marvelously like this in the latter days of the Roman empire, when victorious armies overawed the government and dictated laws.

It is our sincere hope that the American people will soon recognize the shameless abuse of their gratitude to the real soldiers of the republic, which is now seen in the ever increasing pension roll, gathering accumulated volume as we recede from the war, and which comes from measures invented by pension attorneys at Washington and supported by congressmen anxious to obtain the soldier vote and afraid to oppose the demands of those who are masquerading as defenders of the nation's life.

In the last presidential election Harrison received 233 electoral votes and Cleveland 108, making the former's majority 65 in the electoral college, although of the popular vote Cleveland received a majority over Harrison of 93,481. Of the electoral votes for Harrison, New York cast thirty-six and Indiana fifteen, making together fifty-one, which number taken from the vote of Harrison and added to that of Cleveland would have given the former 182 and the latter 219 electoral votes, or a majority of 37 for Cleveland.

While there are now 401 electoral votes, there will be in 1892, with the thirteen electoral votes of the new states, 414 votes in the electoral college; and if every state votes in 1892 as in 1888, except New York and Indiana, and they support the democratic ticket, it would be successful, although the entire thirteen votes of the new states should be given to the republican ticket. If the states of New York and Indiana change to the democrats in 1892, then the democratic ticket would be elected, although the republicans should carry all the new states, and also Connecticut or West Virginia. Or if the republicans carry in 1892 all the states they carried in 1888 except New York and Indiana, they would be defeated, although they should gain the votes of all the new states except Montana, and the democrats lose Virginia or West Virginia and Connecticut. In other words if the democrats carry New York and Indiana in 1892, together with Montana, they can lose both Virginia and Connecticut, or Virginia, and elect their ticket, if the other states vote as in 1888 and the republicans gain the votes of Washington and the two Dakotas.

At the last election for president, Harrison received in New York 59,338 and Cleveland 65,965 votes; while Fisk, the prohibition candidate, had 30,231, and Streeter, the union labor candidate, 628; so that Harrison had a majority of 14,573 over Cleveland, but less than a majority of all the votes in the state. In Indiana Harrison received 283,361, and Cleveland 261,013 votes, while Fisk had 9,881 and Streeter 2,634, giving Harrison a majority over Cleveland of 2,348, but only a plurality in the state. Out of 1,854,109 votes in the two states of New York and Indiana, Harrison had a majority over Cleveland of 16,721, showing that a change of 8,361 votes from the republican to the democratic candidates would have elected the latter president.

New York and Indiana are democratic states, and only corrupt means can change their electoral votes. In these states must be fought the presidential contest of 1892, and no democrat should doubt, in view of the facts presented, that it will result in the triumphant success of our principles and the vindication of Grover Cleveland's honest and brave administration.

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